

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAJ-01 EB-07 ACDA-05 COME-00 TRSE-00 SAM-01 AF-06

ARA-06 CU-02 DHA-02 ORM-02 /098 W  
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R 111505Z NOV 75  
FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9153  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, CZ  
SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER'S SPEECH ON CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY

REF: PRAGUE 2849

1. SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK DELIVERED A MAJOR  
ADDRESS ON THE STATE OF CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY BE-  
FORE THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY NOVEMBER 11. THE PRESENCE OF  
PRESIDENT HUSAK AND THE CHIEFS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS  
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TESTIFIED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SPEECH. IT WAS ABOVE

ALL AN EXPOSITION OF THE NEW POST-COLD WAR ERA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MARKED BY THE STRENGTH OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, DETENTE BETWEEN US AND USSR, PEACE IN INDOCHINA AND PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT. CHNOUPEK SAID THE CSSR WOULD IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT FULLY; INSTRUCTIONS HAD BEEN GIVEN COMPETENT BODIES AND INSTITUTIONS TO WORK OUT CSCE RESULTS IN DETAIL IN ALL SPHERES. AS ONE EXAMPLE, CHNOUPEK CITED (ALBEIT IN IMPRECISE TERMS) THE APPROVAL FOR FOREIGN COMPANIES TO SET UP TRADE AGENCIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE ALSO TALKED ABOUT THE HUMANITARIAN PARTS OF CSCE AND MADE A CLAIM THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD A "CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH" TO FULFILLING THE PRINCIPLES AGREED UPON AT HELSINKI. HIS COMMENTS ON US RELATIONS (BEING SENT VERBATIM SEPARATELY) WERE MODERATE, DEPLORING EFFECTS OF TRADE ACT BUT STATING CSSR WILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS IN AREAS NOT AFFECTED BY THE TRADE ACT. CHNOUPEK AVOIDED MENTIONING THE US BY NAME IN SEVERAL AREAS, E.G. IN SPEAKING OF VIETNAM, WHERE HE MIGHT HAVE DONE SO.

2. MUCH OF CHNOUPEK'S ADDRESS WAS A CATALOGUE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S EXPANDING AND IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH MOST COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ALL THE MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRIES. HIS COMMENTS ON PORTUGAL WERE CAUTIOUSLY HEDGED, AND HE AVOIDED SPEAKING AT ALL ABOUT ANGOLA OR SPAIN. THE LONG APSSAGES ABOUT CSSR-USSR RELATIONS WERE PREDICTABLY FULSOME, AND INCLUDED A STATEMENT ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUSAK AND BREZHNEV. EXCEPT FOR CHILE AND SOUTH AFRICA, ABOUT THE ONLY NEGATIVE NOTE (ALBANIA WAS NOT MENTIONED) WAS THE RATHER STRONG ATTACK ON CHINA, WHICH INCLUDED A CHARGE OF CHINESE "INTERFERENCE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ALLIES." ABOVE ALL, THE SPEECH PORTRAYED CSSR FOREIGN POLICY AS GOING EXTREMELY WELL--WITH EMPHASIS ON GROWING INTERNATIONAL PRESITGE--AND READY TO ASSUME THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TASKS LAID ON IT BY THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

3. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MAKING HIS FIRST GLOBAL REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY SINCE 1972, SPOKE OF THE SUCCESSES OF CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AS THE COUNTRY MOVED TOWARDS THE XV PARTY CONGRESS. DESCRIBING THE NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, HE

MENTIONED: (A) THE DECISIVE INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS; (B) US-USSR DETENTE ("THE TWO MOST POWERFUL STATES OF THE WORLD, THE USSR AND USA, SIGNED MORE THAN FORTY AGREEMENTS WHICH CONSTITUTED A SOUND AND STABLE INTERNATIONAL BASIS FOR PEACE AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES" AND HAD A DETERMINING IMPACT ON OVERALL WORLD STABILITY); (C) PEACE IN INDOCHINA; (D) FRG-GDR RELATIONS WERE SETTLED, "WHICH SEEMED ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE A FEW YEARS AGO"; (E) QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON WEST BERLIN; (F) GDR AND CUBA IMPROVED THEIR INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS; (G) EAST-WEST RELATIONS BEING NORMALIZED ON BASIS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE; (H) NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE SUCCEEDING; (I) ABOVE ALL, CSCE, TO WHICH CHNUPEK GAVE MUCH ATTENTION.

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SPOKE OF THE HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT (NOTING THAT 1975 WAS "QUITE RIGHTLY CALL THE YEAR OF EUROPE"). HE CITED THE BELGRADE 1977 MEETING, AND POINTED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF CONVENING ANOTHER ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. HE ALSO TALKED ABOUT CSSR PLANS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT. IN THIS CONNECTION HE BROUGHT UP THE VEXED QUESTION OF OFFICES FOR FOREIGN FIRMS IN THE CSSR, ALTHOUGH THE WORDING STILL SEEMED TO US A BIT HEDGED ("THE GOVERNMENT GAVE ITS CONSENT TO PRINCIPLES THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR FOREIGN COMPANIES TO ESTABLISH IN CZECHOSLOVAK TERRITORY THEIR TRADE AGENCIES"), AND WE WILL WAIT FOR SPECIFIC IMPLEMENTATION TO JUDGE THE IMPORTANCE OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE. AT THE END OF HIS SPEECH, CHNUPEK TURNED TO CULTURAL AND HUMAN-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TARIAN MATTERS, MAKING AN EFFORT TO SHOW HOW GOOD CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS IN GRANTING VISAS EXPEDITIOUSLY, SHOWING FOREIGN FILMS, BUYING FOREIGN BOOKS AND SO ON. HE POINTED TO THE NEW AGREEMENT WITH FINLAND ON VISA-FREE CONTACTS AS A GOOD EXAMPLE. HE CLAIMED CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD "ALWAYS SHOWN UNDERSTANDING FOR QUESTIONS OF REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES AND EMIGRATION," AND NOTED THAT IN RECENT YEARS ALONE SOME 70,000 CITIZENS HAD EMIGRATED FROM THE CSSR. CHNUPEK SAID THIS SHOWED A HUMANE APPROACH TO SUCH PROBLEMS, AND STATED HIS EXPECTATION THAT COOPERATION WOULD CONTINUE TO DEVELOP IN SUCH SPHERES.

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R 111505Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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5. CHNOUPEK ALSO DEVOTED MUCH ATTENTION TO THE NEED FOR MILITARY DETENTE. THE ONLY CHANGE IN HIS PREPARED TEXT WAS SOME ADDED MATERIAL (CITING ACDA AND THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES) ON THE HORRORS OF NUCLEAR WAR; BUT HE WENT ON TO CITE RESPONSIBLE WESTERN STATESMEN AS RECOGNIZING THIS DANGER, AND SPECIFICALLY HE QUOTED SECRETARY KISSINGER AS SAYING DESPITE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, THE US BELIEVED THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE TO BE INEVITABLE. IN CONCLUDING THIS SECTION ON CSCE AND ITS AFTERMATH, CHNOUPEK PUT IN A PLUG FOR THE SOVIET

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PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHING A "SYSTEM OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY" IN ASIA.

6. CHNOUPEK IN ONE OUTSPOKEN SECTION DEFENDED "PERSONAL DIPLOMACY" BY NAME, SAYING THIS DID NOT EXCLUDE BUT ON THE CONTRARY COMPLEMENTED IN A SUITABLE WAY "THE EXISTING TRADITIONAL FORMS" OF DIPLOMACY. HE ADDED THAT THE WESTERN STATES DURING THE COLD WAR WANTED TRADE AND OTHER RELATIONS BUT NOT POLITICAL ONES; BUT IT WAS POLITICAL CONTACTS THAT WERE AND REMAINED CRUCIAL.

7. THE SECTIONS ON THE WARSAW PACT AND CEMA SEEMED TO REFLECT SOVIET VIEWS EXTREMELY CLOSELY. CHNOUPEK SPOKE OF THE PACT AS CONSTITUTING "PRIMARILY A POLITICAL UNION OF A NEW TYPE," AND SAID NEW CONDITIONS MADE IT POSSIBLE "FURTHER TO IMPROVE ITS INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM" TO OBTAIN "STILL CLOSER COORDINATION OF FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVITIES OF MEMBER COUNTRIES." SIMILARLY, FOR CEMA HE SPOKE ABOUT "CEMENTING INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION," CITING SUCH AREAS FOR POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENT AS "FURTHER PERFECTING OF THE MECHANISM OF COMMON PLANNING EFFORTS," ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS OF COOPERATION, COORDINATING ECONOMIC POLICIES IN RELATION TO THIRD COUNTRIES. HE ALSO SPOKE OUT FOR LAYING FOUNDATIONS FOR "LASTING, MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS ECONOMIC COOPERATION" BETWEEN CEMA AND EEC.

8. THE CATALOGUE OF GOOD RELATIONS AND HIGH-LEVEL VISITS BETWEEN THE CSSR AND OTHER COUNTRIES WAS ABOUT AS EXPECTED, WITH NO REAL NEWS. BOTH FRANCE AND THE FRG GOT GOOD MENTION, AS DID AUSTRIA. SWEDEN BARELY GOT NOTICED, AND SPAIN DID NOT.

9. THE PORTION ON CHINA (WHICH THE PRC AMBASSADOR WOULD SURELY HAVE WALKED OUT ON HAD HE ATTENDED, BUT HE DID NOT) STRUCK US AS TOUGH. ALTHOUGH IT BEGAN WITH THE RITUAL STATEMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAK DESIRE FOR BETTER RELATIONS, IT WENT ON TO ATTACK "THE DANGEROUS, ADVENTUROUS POLICY OF THE MAOIST LEADERSHIP, ITS ANTI-SOCIALIST AND ANTI-SOVIET ORIENTATION, THE INTERFERENCE IN OUR INTERNAL

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AFFAIRS AND IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ALLIES." CHNOUPEK ACCUSED CHINA OF WANTING TO FORM A "UNITED BLOC" RANGING FROM "THE MOST REACTIONARY RIGHTIST IMPERIALIST

CIRCLES TO EXTREME SECTARIAN FORCES, TO FIGHT AGAINST WORLD SOCIALISM." THE MAOIST LEADERSHIP WAS ALSO SAID TO ADVOCATE A "REVISION OF THE OUTCOME OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR" AND TO OPPOSE THE PRINCIPLES OF INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS AND NON-USE OF FORCE, AS WELL AS RAISING "TERRITORIAL CLAIMS AGAINST SOCIALIST AND NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."

10. IN SEVERAL PLACES IN HIS SPEECH, CHNOUPEK REFERRED TO THE ENTIRE GAMUT OF CZECHOSLOVAK HISTORY SINCE 1918; HE ONCE QUOTED COMENIUS; AND HE MANAGED TO GET IN SOME SMALL REMEMBRANCE OF THE CONTINUITY OF CZECH AND SLOVAK HISTORY. TO THE STUDENT OF THAT HISTORY, ATTENDING THIS PARLIAMENTARY SESSION WAS SAD, IN THAT SO LITTLE OF THE GRAND TRADITION OF BOHEMIAN AND CZECHOSLOVAK PARLIAMENTARIANISM WAS LEFT. YET SOME PRESENT SURELY REMEMBERED THAT CZECH LEGISLATORS WERE AMONG THE MOST ABLE IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE; THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK ASSEMBLY WAS (WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE BALTIC STATES) THE ONLY CONTINUALLY FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN THE WARS; AND MOST TOUCHINGLY, THAT IN 1968 THE PARLIAMENTARY TRADITION SPRANG BACK TO LIFE OVERNIGHT FROM WHAT SEEMED LIKE DEAD ASHES. SO ONCE AGAIN, AS OFTEN HAPPENS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ATTENDANNCE AT WHAT IS NO DOUBT AN EMPTY RELIC OF A SPLENDID PAST LEFT THE OBSERVER WITH A SMALL MEASURE OF HOPE THAT SOME DAY, THE PAST COULD LIVE AGAIN.  
PERRY

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